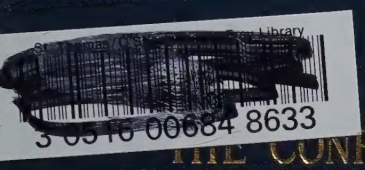
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CHARLES W. ELIOT

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THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM IN A DEMOCRACY

THREE LECTURES

BY

CHARLES W. ELIOT
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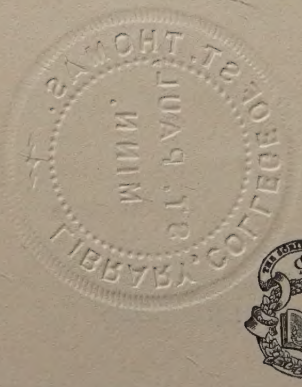

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1429

lecturer present in the series of lectures some fresh aspect or aspects of the department of thought in which he is a specialist; and that the entire series delivered each session, taken together, shall possess such unity that they may be published by the Foundation in book form.

PREFATORY NOTE

The lectures here printed were given orally from briefs at the University of Virginia in November, 1909. They have been written out in the summer of 1910. In writing them out some changes of order and a few additions have been made.

C. W. E.

Asticou, Maine,
September, 1910.

I

IN INDUSTRIES AND TRADES

All through the nineteenth century a conflict was going on in all civilized nations between two opposite tendencies in human society, individualism and collectivism. Till about 1870 individualism had the advantage in this conflict; but near the middle of the century collectivism began to gain on individualism, and during the last third of the century collectivism won decided advantages over the opposing principle. Individualism values highly not only the rights of the single person, but also the initiative of the individual left free by society. Collectivism values highly social rights, objects to an individual initiative which does mischief when left free, holds that the interest of the many should override the interest of the individual, whenever the two interests conflict, and should con-

trol social action, and yet does not propose to extinguish the individual, but only to restrict him for the common good, including his own.

At the outset it will be well to point out that collectivism should not be confounded with socialism. Socialism dwells on the sharp and unnatural division of society into a few owners of land and machinery on the one hand, and many wage-earners on the other, on the small share of the wage-earner in the product of his industry, on the wrongfulness of private property, and on the waste and cruelty of competition. Collectivism is not concerned with any of these matters. Socialism advocates the ultimate ownership of all the means of production, including the land, by society as a whole, and as a step that way advocates immediate government ownership of public utilities. Collectivism has no general theory on that subject, and in practice is simply opportunist in regard to it. In these days there is a socialism which has no destructive or violent quality, but is in its doctrines ex-

tremely enervating to the individual man or woman. It would have society as a whole provide against all the trials and disasters of life. Are wages in any industry unreasonably low? It would have the government raise them. Is any married pair unable on account of incapacity or poverty, or unwilling on account of laziness or indifference, to bring up their children well? The government shall take charge of the children, and feed, clothe, and educate them. Are any able-bodied persons, male or female, unemployed? The state shall employ them, and shall carry on any farms, shops, factories, or mines needed to furnish the employment. Are there any sick, disabled, or old people who cannot support themselves? Society as a whole shall support them. Are any marriages unhappy, childless, or wearisome? Let the state facilitate by legislation the loosening of bonds which have become unprofitable both economically and sentimentally, and do what it can to break up family exclusiveness based on either economic or sentimental grounds. These are doctrines

which, if carried into practice, would impair the family as the unit of social organization, and would take away from the individual man or woman most of the motives which now prompt to industry, frugality, foresight, conjugal fidelity, and loving devotion to those members of the family who are either too young or too old for productive labor. The state would become a vast charitable institution, exercising a universal despotic benevolence. Compulsory labor would be the rule for the individual citizen, to whatever amount the state judged necessary to enable it to meet its enormous expenditures for the common good. The service of the state would be the universal occupation. Ambition for personal excellence or family improvement and progress would be confined to a very few morally exceptional persons. The fine arts, being dependent on individual endowment and initiative, would languish. It would be no object to acquire private property, for if the state were successfully administered everybody would be sure of bare food, clothing, and

shelter, and nobody would be able to secure luxuries or transmit savings to children.

With this Utopian scheme, so unattractive to ordinary freemen, the collectivism which is to be discussed in these lectures has nothing whatever to do. The collectivism which has developed so effectively since the middle of the nineteenth century maintains private property, the inheritance of property, the family as the unit of society, and the liberty of the individual as a fundamental right; and it relies for the progress of society on the personal virtues rightly called "homely," because they have to do with the maintenance of a home—namely, industry, frugality, prudence, domestic affection, independence, emulation, and energy.

Individualism has a strong natural hold on the American democracy. In the first place, the early settlers on American soil were in the main Protestants, inheritors of the deep-seated individualism of the Protestant Reformation. In the next place, the first American colonies on the Atlantic shore of the great territory now

called the United States brought with them from the Old World only the slightest traces of the feudal system—the earliest successful colony, that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, none at all. The early settlers were individualistic in their make-up and temperament, as all pioneers are apt to be, and their occupations were of the independent, individualistic sort. They were farmers, fishermen, tradespeople, and mechanics; and these are occupations which lend themselves to independence of character and to the acquisition of private property. The eighteenth century, through its public events and through its commonest private experiences, was very favorable in this country to the development of individualistic theory and practice. The population was sparse, and there were no large towns or cities, and no factories. The teachings of Franklin, Jefferson, and Thomas Paine were intensely individualistic. Jefferson's fundamental doctrine was the political and economic value of individual liberty—the pursuit of happiness was the right of every human

being, and in that pursuit he had a right to be let alone, provided he did not interfere with other peoples' pursuit of happiness. The town meeting, manhood suffrage, and representative government all emphasized the potency of the individual and the sanctity of his rights. So when an American municipality declares to-day by its habitual action that no resident is to go cold or hungry, and that every child is to receive free of cost an elementary education—which indeed has been the traditional practice of the New England town for centuries—it is not putting into practice any theory of nineteenth-century socialism. It is helping unfortunate or degraded individuals and educating children on the principles of collectivism, without intending even the least interference with private property, family duty, or the self-respecting independence of the individual tax-paying citizen.

The rise and growing power of collectivism in the American democracy is due to the same influences which have acted on the European nations, and especially on the English. These influences have been the development of the

factory system, the creation of corporations with limited liability, the rise of numerous scientific and artistic professions, the exploitation of the natural resources of new countries or regions by capitalists coming from older countries or regions, and the creation of unprecedented inequalities as to comfort and wealth, not as privileges of birth, but as results, first, of the general liberty and the prevailing social mobility, and secondly, of the transmission of education and property. From all these influences taken together there have appeared in every democratic society in the world, and especially in the American democracy, industrial and social classes or layers, and strong collective action in every class.

The concentration of population which has taken place within two generations in the United States, east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and the Potomac, has made necessary the free use of collective forces for the protection and service of the concentrated population; and many individualistic rights and habits have been impaired or modified in

view of imperative collective needs. The concentration of population has forced government to assume many new functions, to increase public expenditures, and therefore taxes, and to interfere frequently with individual rights formerly considered very precious. In short, government has been centralized, and its forces have been more freely used and more widely applied in proportion to the concentration of population. Since governmental administration covers many new subjects and costs much more than it used to, it must appropriate a larger proportion than formerly of the products of the national industries, do everything in its power to prevent the waste or misuse of natural resources, and regulate both private and corporate activities in the interest of the whole community. In this process collectivism has made many gains, and individualism many losses.

These lectures will deal with the struggle between individualism and collectivism under

three heads, first, in industries and trades; secondly, in education, and thirdly, in government.

Following the introduction of mechanical power and the consequent organization of the factory system, trades-unions came into existence in England early in the nineteenth century. The operatives were for the most part ignorant, uneducated people, who had been transferred within a generation from out-of-door employments to indoor work in crowded, unventilated rooms, where they engaged in monotonous labor for very long hours, but could only acquire a limited amount of skill. The factory taught punctuality, order, and diligence; but it did not try to make the work either wholesome or interesting. The system tended to mass the wretched population of operatives in the congested districts of large towns, a process which increased their misery. The trades-unions exerted a collective force, each for its own trade, to resist the intolerable physical and moral conditions under which the great

manufacturing industries were conducted. They instituted a collective demand for higher wages, shorter hours, and more humane conditions of daily labor, and maintained that demand with extreme violence and much self-sacrifice. As time went on and the unions covered all the principal trades, their successful exertions were of great service, not only to the operative class in large factories, but to the little skilled laboring class in general, and therefore to English society as a whole.

The trades-unions came comparatively late to the United States, the individualistic quality of the original population being a strong obstacle to their progress in this country. They were a foreign importation, and are still manned chiefly by persons of alien birth, or by American-born children of aliens. The immense development of the factory system in the United States, however, necessitated the creation of trades-unions on American soil, and once started here they developed their peculiar collective action with ingenuity and energy.

All well-organized unions inculcate submission to the majority rule, obedience to officers elected for short terms, and supreme loyalty to the union in all cases of conflict of loyalties. These are collective doctrines, taught for the purpose of securing common action on the part of large bodies of men who believe themselves to have a common interest as a class, or group, or set, to promote which they are willing to forego a large part of their liberty as individuals.

It is obvious that in order to secure this vigorous collective action in industrial contests each member of a union must reconcile himself to heavy losses of individual liberty, and must always be ready to make serious sacrifices for what he regards as the good or interest of his fellows. Each workman must strike, for example, on vote of the majority of his union to do so, in spite of the fact that to cease to earn wages may involve heavy loss and suffering to himself and his family. No union man can utilize any unusual skill or capacity he may possess to secure his own ad-

vancement. He cannot be eager or zealous at work, either in his employer's interest or in his own. He cannot be sure of bringing up his sons to his own trade. He cannot secure a rise of wages except through the union. He finds that the union rules make it very difficult for him to pass from the journeyman class to the employer class; but, worst of all, he is deprived of the individualistic motive for personal improvement from day to day and year to year. He sees that rapid workers and pace-setters are outlawed. He sees that his union makes apprenticeship unnecessarily long in order to keep down the number of journeymen; that it stops the employment of old men who are not worth the union wage; that it causes younger men who are dull or slow, and therefore not worth the union wage, to be employed only irregularly, at moments of unusual activity in their trades; and that it causes women to be practically excluded from many trades because they are not worth the union wage for men; and yet he submits to the majority which makes and enforces such

rules. He not only modifies or suppresses his opinions, but also sacrifices precious rights as an individual to the collective interest of his class. Surely these losses of individual liberty to secure collective efficiency in combat are grave indeed. Taken in connection with the operation of the union rules limiting the output of the individual workman, these losses are sure to diminish very much in a few generations the individual initiative and productiveness of large masses of the population, namely, those that work under the factory system, or in other large bodies which are capable of being unionized.

The trades-unions have made it their chief object in recent years to secure higher and higher wages and shorter and shorter hours, and to this end they have sought to secure a monopoly each of its own kind of labor. This effort to secure monopoly has been approximately successful in a few trades, and partially successful in many, and this labor monopoly has threatened so seriously the industries of the country, that another kind of collective

action, which also interferes greatly with individual liberty, became indispensable. The associations of employers came into vigorous existence, in order to combine all employers in a given line of business in energetic resistance to the monopolies of labor organized by trades-unions. Many of the employers were corporations.

Incorporation with limited liability is the greatest business invention of the nineteenth century; because it concentrates in a few hands the managing and directing powers, masses capital, and has extraordinary facilities for increasing the amount of capital invested in a given industry. Through their shares and bonds, quite new forms of property, successful corporations are great diffusers of property among the frugal people of the country, securing to well-established industries a portion of the annual savings of the people, and yet putting these savings into such a form that their owners can at any moment bring them back into their own hands by selling the bonds or stocks in which they have

been invested. The stocks and bonds of well-managed corporations afford excellent illustrations of collectivism strengthening democracy and resisting socialism by devising safe but mobile forms of property. Many successful corporations in finance, transportation, or manufacturing demonstrate the possibility of developing an effective collectivism which will not destroy, though it may qualify, individualism.

Trusts being combinations of existing corporations, firms, or powerful persons, are larger units of collective action which hope to secure the economic advantages of a vast, unified organization, and also a control of prices. Like trades-unions, they generally aim at a monopoly, but seldom attain to it. Whenever they do attain to it, they incur the hatred of the democracy. Trades-unions, corporations, and trusts alike tend to suppress competition, and therefore to stop industrial progress—for competition is not only the life of trade, but the source of continuous improvement, since it supplies an urgent motive

for improvement. Any industry from which competition was successfully excluded would inevitably become a stagnant or unprogressive industry; and any population which succeeded in securing itself from competition—as, for example, by an effective tariff wall—would become within a few generations a retrograde population. Fortunately, the means of entirely excluding competition have not yet been discovered, though diligently sought. The collective action of corporations and trusts can be made very effective without approaching the destruction of competition; but the highest efficiency of trades-unions toward the accomplishment of their class objects cannot be secured unless they respectively control nearly all the labor in their several trades. Hence, the urgency of the unions for the "closed shop," or at least for the shop in which union men have a strong preference. The agents of the unions in collective bargaining have a great advantage if they can say to the employers, "You shall have *no* workmen except on the following

terms." The statement "You shall have no union workmen except on the following terms" is comparatively ineffective, if any considerable number of non-union men are at hand ready to work on other terms.

The keen interest of both employers and employed in the establishment of a monopoly makes it very desirable for both legislatures and courts to discriminate between good and bad competition, and to study the means of maintaining in the interest of the consumer all reasonable competition. Two kinds of competition are unquestionably bad—first, any competition which loses sight of, or disregards, profit in the industry affected, and secondly, any competition which so reduces wages that a decent livelihood cannot be earned by the working people. It is never for the interest of the community as a whole that any of its industries should be carried on at a loss, even temporarily, or that any part of the able-bodied population should be unable to earn wages enough to secure for themselves and their families health, strength, and

capacity for enjoyment, so far as money can buy these elements of well-being. If these two kinds of competition are excluded or prevented, the community as a whole has a right to expect great gains from animated competition in every branch of industry, every play or sport, and every educational or social activity. Both individual and collective progress are won in most instances through competition, and a large part of the interest of life comes to all human beings, and indeed to many animals, through competitive action in both work and play. The desirable competition, however, is competition between the strong and the strong, which will probably result in the improvement of all parties, not competition between the strong and the weak, which may result in the extinction of the weaker. The effort to abolish competition is a good illustration of the common tendency in modern reformers to disregard, in their recommendations for social improvement, both human nature and human experience.

The employers' associations which band together employers in the same or kindred industries to resist the collective attacks of trades-unions are now strong, and are active in two useful directions, first, to resist the creation of monopolies of labor by trades-unions and the unreasonable demands of unions, and secondly, to improve the methods of their own members as regards humanity, considerateness, and justice toward employees. These associations are successfully resisting at many points the most objectionable monopolistic methods of the trades-unions, namely, the closed shop, the limitation of the number of apprentices, the limitation of output, the union label, and the boycott. They, however, necessarily cause great losses of liberty to the individual employer. Thus, when a strike has occurred in the works of a member of the association he cannot settle it himself, but must observe the standing rules of the association in regard to the settlement of strikes. He must also pay for resisting strikes and boycotts quite

outside his own works and, indeed, in the works or factories of his competitors. He must obey in the conduct of his own business rules laid down by the association of which he is a member. He becomes responsible morally and pecuniarily for words and acts of his association's officers and organs. These are serious losses of employers' liberties, once held to be precious. He can no longer carry on his own business in his own way; but must take into account the collective interest of the class to which he belongs and the dangers which threaten the employing class as a whole.

Collectivism, as concentrated in a combination of trades-unions and employers' associations working together in harmony, has won its greatest triumphs by successfully dictating to the great majority of the people, the consumers, as regards both wholesale and retail prices. This power is exercised through the trade agreement made between a trade-union or several trades-unions and a corporation or trust, and also in the case of transportation

services through the schedule of hours, wages, and conditions adopted by the common action of a corporation and the unions which supply the workmen employed by the corporation. Such agreements may sometimes be better than actual fighting between a corporation and its workmen, or than the complete stoppage of the industry; but they are full of danger to the consumer and to discipline within the industry concerned. In a monopolistic industry, which has freed itself from competition by tariff legislation, the annihilation of independent producers, or the control of the distributing agencies, there is no effective limit to prices except the probable abstinence of the consumer.

Such is the struggle between collectivism and individualism in industries at the present day. If we look back to the first half of the nineteenth century before trades-unionsim was rife in this country, and before corporations with limited liability existed, or trusts and associations of employers had been thought of, we shall agree that collectivism

has gained enormously on individualism. Resistance to a common peril on the part of a distinct race, or a distinct class, or of the adherents of a certain religion, promotes and intensifies collective action. Thus, the white race in the South acted together as one man in guarding against the perils to which the enslaving of the entire African race within their borders exposed them, or was imagined to expose them. Not long ago in the Northern States large bodies of Protestants could be periodically enlisted for collective action against Catholics. Men of the same class or the same occupations are not infrequently prompted to unite in common resistance to unsympathetic criticism; and the liberty of the press makes the occasions for that sort of collective action more frequent than they were before the press was free. Every profession, learned or scientific, forms a voluntary association for the promotion of the common interests of the profession, and particularly for raising the standards of professional education, and maintaining in the practice of the

profession sound principles of ethics and honor. The habit of forming associations of like-minded persons to promote reforms or good measures has grown upon the American people very much during the past thirty years. Such associations have multiplied rapidly, and each one is a focus of collective action. Many philanthropic causes and several æsthetic causes have each its association. Some of these voluntary associations deal with the conditions of labor in the great industries of the country, as, for instance, the associations for promoting the public health, for preventing the employment of women and children in factories, for providing wholesome tenement houses and numerous playgrounds in crowded cities, and for diminishing the ravages of tuberculosis. These associations support the trades-unions in their efforts to improve the conditions under which the labor of the country is done and the families of laboring men are brought up. To promote "welfare work" is only an incidental object in trades-unions, their main object being to

contend for higher wages and shorter hours; but in many voluntary associations welfare work is the principal object. They exist only to promote the general welfare by preventing diseases and premature death, resisting vices, and providing the means of wholesome living and rational enjoyment. Among these movements toward social improvement none is more important than that which plans and provides better housing for the laboring classes. The industrial strife which inflicts such woes and losses on the entire community is worst among those laborers who have the least skill, earn the least money, and therefore live in the worst conditions with the least attractive surroundings. When to these unfortunate conditions is added the nomad habit, such as prevails among the miners of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho, the industrial warfare is sure to be at its worst. Good housing is an effective weapon against all these evil influences. It makes the conditions of life for the poorest people comfortable and wholesome, and it tends strongly

to induce workmen to live steadily in one place and not to rove. Many employers, both persons and corporations, have tried to use this means of securing a permanent, experienced, contented body of employees; but too frequently such experiments have failed, because unwisely conducted. It is not well for an industrial corporation to own the houses in which their workmen live, because suspicions and contentions are sure to arise about rents and ejectments. To put the rents of the tenements owned by the manufacturing corporation below a remunerative rate will not help the situation. The tenants thus favored will inevitably believe that what the corporation sacrifices in rents it recovers in lower wages. A separate corporation, or co-operative society, should own the houses. This is a case in which individualism will not succeed in maintaining the restrictions necessary to the safe conduct of the community. An individual owner in fee simple may at any moment sell his holding for some vicious occupation. Only collective holding through a corporation

or co-operative society can provide the needed securities.

The English societies for copartnership in housing, such as the Ealing (London) Tenants Limited and the Garden City Tenants Limited, afford excellent illustrations of collective action to avoid the evils of the individual ownership of houses and of speculative building by capitalists who have no public spirit. They harmonize the interest of tenant and investor by an equitable use of the profit arising from the increase of values and the careful use of the property under restrictions which are advantageous to all the members. In large cities the housing problem will not be well solved by individual proprietors who are merely looking for the best immediate return on their capital. House property and land are kinds of property which can be used in a way to produce serious injury to individuals and families, and through them to the community as a whole. The capitalist or speculator who proposes to build for quick sale may do the community an injury, the effects of

which will run on through several generations of men. On the other hand, the ownership of houses by individual workmen involves in these days many risks for the owner. The individual cannot buy land and build a single house at the price which would be paid for a hundred lots and a hundred houses. He cannot borrow money on mortgage at as favorable a rate as a sound building society can. Moreover, he cannot be sure, even though he be an excellent workman, of procuring permanent employment in one and the same place; and in case he is obliged to change his place of residence he may be at a disadvantage in disposing of his house and land. In short, the individualistic method is not so safe as a collective method through an organized tenants' society. The English tenants' societies acquire land and erect substantial, wholesome, and convenient houses, which they let to their members at rents sufficient to pay a moderate interest on the capital invested, and provide for expenses, repairs, and depreciation, and they then divide any surplus profits

among the tenant members, in proportion to the rents paid by them. Each tenant member's share of profits is paid, not in cash, but in shares of the company. The interest of the tenant member in the surplus profits prompts him to take care of the property, to keep down repairs, to find tenants for vacant houses, and to pay his rent punctually. From the point of view of the investing shareholder the investment is a secure one, although the rate of interest is moderate. The tenants obtain most of the economic advantages of owning their own houses, but not all of the sentimental advantages. The first of these associations was started in 1888, but most of them were started between 1901 and 1906. The words "co-partnership" and "co-operation" are properly applied to them, for they afford an admirable example of collective action which does not diminish individual initiative and liberty, or hinder development of the individualistic virtues. The Ealing Tenants Limited was started in 1901 on an area of forty-eight acres. At the start they set apart nearly one-

tenth of this area for open grounds in addition to the areas occupied by streets. The houses are all built of brick with slate roofs, and all have running water and gas. There are no tenement or apartment houses, every tenant occupying a separate house. By June, 1907, the society had a hundred and eighty-two members, a hundred and twenty houses, and property valued at three hundred thousand dollars. It bears strong testimony to the worth of collectivism which does not suppress individualism.

The necessity of controlling capitalism, working on the housing problem with only the motive of individual profit, is shown by the numerous tenement-house, factory, and building laws, which are now directed toward the protection of urban populations against unwholesome conditions, such as the exclusion of light and air, and against personal risk from fire, contagion, and accident. The building laws of most cities now control in many respects the size, height, plan, and cost of buildings, and limit strictly the use which the owner

of a given lot can make of it. They control not only the ignorant or greedy owners, but those who are disposed to regard the public interests while they seek their own. Such protective laws illustrate a form of collective action which is constantly changing, because new abuses come to light, restrictions once needed are needed no longer, and the safe limits of structural stability become better and better known. This form of collective action has been forced on cities by the deplorable results of unregulated competition in building, having only the motive of private profit.

The most important collective action today is the formation of public opinion on humanitarian, commercial, industrial, and governmental subjects. This process goes on through numerous agencies of divers nature, but chiefly through the daily newspapers and the periodicals, public meetings, and the meetings of the many associations devoted to the promotion of special public objects. Pamphlets and books contribute to the discussion, but have a much less important

place than they occupied a hundred or two hundred years ago. In the long run, in free countries it is this public opinion which reforms abuses, protects rights, and determines the direction and rate of progress. In order to bring public opinion to bear in an intelligent and righteous way on any abuse or wrong-doing, the public must have full knowledge of the facts in the case. Hence publicity, complete and universal, is desirable in all the industrial, financial, and commercial work of the community. Every process or operation which has to be done in secret should be an object of suspicion on the part of the public. Righteous dealings have no need of secrecy. Only the intimate and tender relations of love and friendship have a right to privacy. Everything else in the world is better done if done in the open. All the evil doings in the world seek darkness and secrecy. In American legislative bodies to-day the things which are done wrong—like the tariff, the wasteful and pauperizing pension acts, and the extravagant log-rolled appropriations for public

works—are all arranged secretly in committees. The abuses in mines, factories, railroads, banks, insurance companies, and trust companies, go on for years in secret, until suddenly destructive outbreaks occur through which the public gets, too late, knowledge of the long-concealed wrong-doing. This is especially true of the industrial warfare. Hence the extraordinary merit of the Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which provides complete publicity in industrial disputes through an investigation by an impartial tribunal, before a strike or a lock-out can be legal. Through publicity has come, and will come, the remedies for chronic evils and intrenched abuses; but only collectivism, energetically and persistently applied, can secure this essential publicity. For such promotion of the public welfare generation after generation, collectivism must be the main reliance. In this field individualism is impotent, except as it provides leaders for the collective host.

A peculiar form of collective action in industries has been lately developed in most

civilized countries under the vague name of "labor legislation." England, the United States, and Germany, the chief manufacturing nations, have enacted more labor laws than any other nations. The English Factory Acts having early established the principle that the state should regulate the employment of women and children in factories, Parliament has passed later a long series of labor measures, three of which, recently enacted, have been very significant—first, the Workmen's Compensation Act, secondly, the decision which relieved labor unions from pecuniary liability for injuries inflicted by strikes, and thirdly, the Old-Age Pension Act. The States of the American Union have not yet adopted the principle of compensation to employees for injuries received in the course of their employment; but the United States government, which is one of the greatest employers of labor in the country, adopted by the Act of May 30, 1908, the principle of compensation to its own employees killed or injured in the course of their employment.

Since the government could not be forced by law to make such compensation, this Act, declaring the principle of compensation to be just, was all the more influential. In England, compensation for workmen was limited at first to those employments in which power-driven machinery is used, and minute subdivisions of labor prevail. In such employments there has been a great increase of hazard for the workmen within a hundred years, and no workman can protect himself against the negligence of fellow-workmen. The provisions of the act were subsequently extended to agricultural and similar employments. In general, the employer is now expected to insure the safety of his employees, just as he insures his plant against loss by fire. Insurance companies assume the employer's liability. The cost of the insurance adds, of course, to the cost of the manufacturer's product; but he expects to shift this burden onto the consumer. The legislation results in distributing over the whole community losses which arise from injuries to individual

workmen. Such losses are no longer borne by the killed or injured workman or his family; neither are they borne by the employer of the injured workman, but by the community as a whole; and this distribution takes place in all cases without regard to the question whether the injuries were due to the negligence of the person injured.

The compensation legislation, like most labor legislation, is a striking illustration of the domination of collectivism. Many other forms of labor legislation give the same testimony, as, for instance, in the regulation of the length of the day's work, of the hours of closing, of the sanitary condition of factories, mines, and shops, and of the intervals at which the workmen shall be paid by their employers. In England there has been much social-betterment action by municipal and county councils, which has put upon the community as a whole the cost of providing at low rents wholesome houses for large numbers of working people, and of furnishing meals to school children and to persons out of

employment. Such action implies the free use of the public resources in aid of the unfortunate, incapable, shiftless, or vicious members of society. It relieves such persons not only from suffering, but also from responsibility. To relieve human beings from present suffering is a trustworthy humanitarian instinct. To relieve incapable or vicious human beings from responsibility may be the easiest way to deal at the moment with a difficult situation; but if one looks to the future, that course will in all probability prove to be injurious to the individuals most nearly concerned, and to society at large.

Some labor legislation has the justification that it increases the efficiency of the laborers; but most of it must be justified on the ground that it promotes the public health, prevents the deterioration of the population through indoor or underground work, and brings a serene, comfortable, and happy life within the reach of hard-working millions.

The labor unions in general and the large federations of unions have promoted labor

legislation in great variety, good, bad, and indifferent, and have often urged legislation which was for the benefit of a class rather than of society as a whole; but thus far the labor legislation actually enacted in this country has usually been for the interest of industrial society. It is not to be wondered at that the immense changes in industrial conditions which the nineteenth century witnessed should have required the modification of rules long established in the civil law and the English common law, and the recognition of some new principles in legislation.

In the United States all these collective forces are made to seem natural and promising, because the people are accustomed through their political institutions to submit to the will of a majority, and to take great account of what is called "public opinion"—that is, the opinion of large numbers of men and women moved by common feelings, and believing that they have received in common trustworthy information. Collectivism is, therefore, sure to thrive in this country. Will an adequate

individualism survive? In a democracy, in spite of the fact that the general tendency of democracy is toward the liberty of the individual as well as the liberty of the mass, a majority may at any time act tyrannically toward a minority or an individual. For this reason much interest attaches to certain industrial tendencies, plainly visible within the past twenty years, which resist the onward march of collectivism, and are likely to afford much protection to a sound individualism in industries. The wide distribution of mechanical power by electricity and the gasolene engine promotes the establishment of small factories and a wholesome carrying on of household industries. Any one can now command the power needed to drive a few sewing-machines, or a pump, or a dory, or a separator and a churn. Cheap power is at the disposal, on sea or land, of a single man or woman, of a family, or of a small group of persons who co-operate. Through this distribution of mechanical power the individual is made more independent in numerous trades

than he was thirty years ago, and the small producer is enabled again to compete with the corporation or the large-scale producer. The very wide distribution of cheap fuel, cheap light, and cheap means of transportation has also increased the independence of the individual producer. The telephone has exerted a similar influence in favor of the individual and the small manufacturer, and is making it possible to carry many manufacturing industries out of crowded cities and towns into the open country, thereby promoting the public health and a sound family life for the workman. The telephone is also helping the individual producer, or a local group of producers, to market his product advantageously. Every co-operative store, dairy, or small workshop is a bulwark of individualism against an exaggerated collectivism. The factory system tends to the production of large quantities of goods which are alike, and must commend themselves in the markets to thousands of simultaneous purchasers. Big corporations or trusts make the goods, hundreds of persons

are employed in distributing them during their season, and thousands or even millions buy them. The whole process is in high degree gregarious. On the other hand, the farmer, or the craftsman who makes the whole of a single article and never makes it twice alike, is the individualist in industry. Indeed, the modern farmer who owns his house and his acres, raises a variety of crops, including most of the food of his family, uses all the agricultural machinery of to-day, and sells his own product by telephone or telegraph, is the typical individualist of these times, surpassing in this respect even the independent artisan or craftsman. Employers in the larger industries used to be highly individualistic, particularly in England during the *laissez faire* period, when large works were owned and managed by a family or a small group of partners; but in recent times the individualistic quality of the great employer has been seriously impaired—first, because he is now apt to be not a sole proprietor, but the officer or agent of an association, corporation, or trust; secondly, be-

cause he often belongs to an association of employers, and must obey their rules; and thirdly, because the great employer now recognizes that he has duties to society at large, which deprive him of some of his former rights, and closely limit others. He can no longer "do what he will with his own"; but must take careful account of the effect of his acts on the people he employs, and on the community of which he is a member. The captain of industry is by no means so authoritative as he was twenty, or even ten years ago; hence better chances for enterprising and capable individuals. The forces which have been resisting collectivism during the past thirty years have not yet gathered strength enough to arrest its progress, but they have checked it, and have shown the way toward a new development of individualism.

II

IN EDUCATION

We are next to consider individualism and collectivism in education, a subject on which these two tendencies are often in strenuous opposition, but often also in active co-operation.

In the first place, education addresses the single, individual child, and attempts to call forth its powers of observation, to train its memory, to give it the means of recording for future reference what it sees and hears, and to stimulate it to discriminate and to reason. The whole process takes effect on an individual child, and the fruitage is in the highest degree personal and individual. Not only is systematic education addressed to an individual child, but the child must voluntarily accept and enjoy it. The best education calls forth the child's own power of will. It is

motived from within, and cannot be forced upon the child by parents, teachers, or society at large; since only in freedom can the desired self-control be developed and the finest intellectual powers be exercised. When Knox, Milton, Locke, or Montaigne describes the best possible education, he conceives it as addressed or applied to a single highly privileged youth. Indeed, Montaigne's ideal is one admirable tutor devoted all the time to one precious youth; and Rousseau's is much the same. When Thomas Jefferson wished to found a university, he made freedom of choice for the student among the different departments of knowledge the principal feature in his scheme. When Ezra Cornell was planning to found a university, he expressed the desire to found an institution where any one might study anything, according to his choice and capacity. The best thing done by the American colleges during the past fifty years has been the widening of their instruction so as to meet the various individual needs of a continually increasing number of students,

who distribute themselves among an increasing number of subjects. Secondly, the individual's happiness in after life depends largely on his finding the career which fits his capacity, the career in which he can soonest and easiest achieve success, and ultimately his largest success. His education, therefore, should bring out and develop any natural advantage, slight or large, he may possess for a particular career. Has he by nature a peculiarly sensitive touch, or an eye quicker than common, or unusually steady nerves which resist excitement, and therefore fatigue, or a power to sleep promptly and under unaccustomed conditions, or a discriminating judgment, or a rare taste in art or letters, or the power to draw sound, justly limited inferences from observed facts, his education should be carefully directed to develop this personal advantage, and his life-career should be chosen with reference to the possession of this recognized advantage. It is for the benefit of the individual to bring into play at the earliest possible moment the motive of the life-career,

because that is a strong interior motive and a lasting one.

In any free country the career a man chooses depends, or ought to depend, on his natural gifts, his own choice, and the length and quality of his education. The children of freemen are not born to careers; they are not born to be ploughmen, carpenters, clerks, salesmen, lawyers, or public servants. The career is, or ought to be, an individual choice, guided, to be sure, by the judgment of parents or by the child's range of observation, but still an individual choice. The choice of a career and of education wisely directed toward a career must always be absolutely individualistic.

In a democracy all the human "sports," that is, all the children who have unusual advantageous capacities or qualities, ought to be discovered and developed through education, and then directed to the most advantageous career. This is an intensely individualistic process, as much so in human beings as in plants and animals. The breeders of advan-

tageous varieties of plants or animals start from "sports," that is, from remarkable individuals which present new varieties of color, or new advantageous diversities in form or structure. In this matter the collective interest of society at large coincides with the individual interest. It is for the interest of democracy that its young people should be trained for all sorts of useful careers, and that each youth should be trained for the career in which he can best succeed. In particular, it is for the interest of democracy that all the human "sports" should be discovered, developed, and helped to the precise career best fitted to give play to each individual's peculiar powers. It ought to be one of the visible results of universal education, and of the mobility of social layers in a democracy, that all the "sports" are saved for special careers of usefulness, rather than lost in the average multitude.

During the nineteenth century all the civilized nations discovered that education is needed for every human occupation, contrary

to the opinion of Plato, who taught that the laboring class had no need of any education; hence, the recent establishment of universal education among all the civilized nations, earliest in those nations which were largely Protestant. This collective interest, though in reality identical with the interest of every human individual, nevertheless induces an extraordinary interference with individual liberty at sensitive points. For example, the state laws which compel parents to send their children to school up to the fourteenth or sixteenth year, and the laws which compel towns and cities to maintain schools during a definite number of months in every year, are direct interferences with individual rights and local rights, which used to be regarded as very precious. Parents are no longer free to determine themselves how extensive the education of their children shall be, or when their children shall begin to contribute to the family support. Counties, towns, or districts cannot decide for themselves how long their schools shall be kept each year. In short, collectivism,

seeking its own interest—that is, the interest of the mass—and often balked in the pursuit, decides that individualism cannot be trusted to produce the results it desires, and proceeds to use compulsion to secure a result which is as beneficent to the individual as it is to society.

There has been within the last thirty years an outbreak of educational exhortation to the effect that education comes not by absorption of learning, but by practice in doing, that information is not the object of education, but skill and mental capacity; and hence, that popular education should from beginning to end be directed to the training of the senses and the acquisition of skill, as well as to the training of the memory and of the reasoning faculties. This doctrine is simply a revival of sixteenth and seventeenth century teaching. Montaigne insisted that training through the ancient languages, and the grammatical and rhetorical learning which grew up about them, was not suited to a gentleman or a man of action. He advocated strongly preparation

in youth for the life-career. He maintained that the important thing to teach a boy was "what he himself ought to do when he becomes a man." Undoubtedly, the exercise of productive faculties, the training of the judgment, and the inspiration of noble sentiments should be the main objects in education. The great problem of education is how to train up children into dutiful and loving men and women, capable of useful action. In training the individual for his utmost capacity in action much information may incidentally be given, and the memory may incidentally be trained, perhaps to a high degree; but the object and intent of the educator should be to develop capacity for action. This is an intensely individualistic process, because it demands the discovery of each child's peculiar individual capacity or faculty, and the careful training of that faculty. Neither the discovery nor the training can be accomplished unless the teacher is intimate with the child. Hence large classes are undesirable, and annual or semiannual changes of teachers, and indeed all mass work. More-

over, the individual quality which may prove the main source of success and happiness in life may be something slight, subtle, or late-developed, and therefore hard to discern. Children and adolescents differ widely in regard to the ages at which the same degree of maturity is attained. One child is as mature at ten as another at fifteen, and one youth is as mature at seventeen as another at twenty-two. There is no phenomenon more individualistic than this, and none which tests more severely the discernment and judgment of the teacher, or of the superintendent who is obliged to balance the interest of individual pupils against the general interest of a school or a system of schools.

One who advocates the training of the senses, as properly a much larger part of education than it has been during the past hundred years, need not be supposed to propose the abandonment of instruction in words and literature. Comenius in the seventeenth century taught that young people were to learn about things, but at the same time were

to acquire in the vernacular and in Latin—the international language—the words which stood for the things; and Ruskin in the middle of the nineteenth century declared the same truth when he said: "To be taught to see is to gain word and thought at once, and both true." Locke is another educational authority who regards the individual child, and advocates taking account all through education of the coming adult life. Thus he says: "The main, I had almost said the only, thing to be considered in every action of a child is, what influence it will have upon his mind, what habit it tends to, or is likely to settle in him, how it will become him when he is bigger, and if it be encouraged whither it will lead him when he is grown up."

Recent years have given several interesting illustrations of the fact that society at large has a keen interest in the proper education of every citizen and of the children of every family. There has been active discussion concerning the expediency of an educational test for the admission of immigrants, and of

an educational test of qualification for the exercise of the suffrage, and efforts have been made to embody correct principles of action on these subjects in legislation. The republic as a whole feels alarm at the admission of millions of men, women, and children, who come from countries where universal education has not been established. The republic dreads the admission of multitudes of people who have not received training enough to keep them surely out of the criminal class, or whose intelligence is so slender that they cannot maintain themselves and their families under American industrial conditions, or whose habits of life are such as to preclude the bringing up of their children to cleanliness and good behavior in the absence of governmental supervision and control. The negro problem in the Southern States has also brought home to the American people the necessity of public education for all classes and races, if society is to enjoy a reasonable degree of moral comfort and to make uninterrupted progress as regards social order,

earning its livelihood, controlling vice, and winning rational enjoyments. Americans generally believe that no part of the whole can be really prosperous, comfortable, and happy, if any part be sunk in ignorance and barbarism. If, then, any portion of the population says either in words or by deeds: "We do not care to be civilized. We prefer to remain ignorant and barbarous," it is expedient and right that the civilized parts should say to the barbarous part: "We shall not regard your individual preference to be barbarous. You shall be civilized, or at least your children shall be." This is a strong case of collectivism overriding individualism to improve numerous individuals and hence the mass.

Certain distinct educational efforts in recent years illustrate admirably the domination of modern collectivism over old-fashioned individualism. A state university is maintained by taxes levied on private property. Every tax-paying citizen contributes to the support of the university, although he may have no child to profit by it, no interest in

any of the subjects it teaches, and no direct use for any of the professions for which the university prepares men and women. As a matter of fact, at any one time only an insignificant minority of the families in the state are making any use of the university, or are conscious of being directly helped by it. Nevertheless, the state legislature makes large appropriations for the university's maintenance, and these appropriations support the teaching not only of practical or utilitarian subjects, like agriculture and engineering, but also of languages, literature, philosophy, history, and economic theory. The majority of the people of the state recognize the fact that it is the collective interest to maintain advanced teaching in all subjects, and in accordance with this view the state legislature uses the taxing power to compel all parents and all productive industries within the state to contribute to the support of the state university.

The general support of secondary schools, to which only a small fraction of the children

of the country ever resort, is another illustration of the supremacy of collectivism at the present day. Within ten years there has been an extraordinary development of new secondary schools throughout the United States, and especially in the Southern States; and all over the country there is an increasing resort to these schools, and new kinds of secondary schools are to-day being established, such as the mechanic arts high schools, and the high schools of commerce—and all this because collectivism, having the power and the faith, pays little attention to what may be the objections of individuals to increased public expenditure. Again, society has lately made up its mind that it has a great interest in the improvement of agricultural methods, and in the increase of intelligence among farmers and farm-hands. Accordingly it has set in operation agencies for carrying instruction in agricultural processes, including the breeding of desirable varieties of plants and animals, directly to the farms. This is not the training of youth, but the spreading of information

among adult persons already at work in agriculture. The national government is spending many thousands of dollars a year in providing itinerant instructors, and in establishing, with the co-operation of the owners, model farms, through which the good results of improved methods can be exhibited to whole neighborhoods. In this work the General Education Board, endowed by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, co-operates in several of the Southern States with a liberal expenditure of money. The departments of agriculture in the state universities and the agricultural schools and stations established under the Land Grant Act of 1862, and the Acts supplementary thereto, are actively engaged in teaching farmers throughout their respective states what great increase of products may be made to result from the use of selected seed and appropriate manures, from the improved mechanical treatment of soils, and the skilful adaptation of crop to soil. The agricultural department of every state university offers short courses of instruction without fee

to young men from the farms of the state, at the seasons of the year when they can best leave their farms, and then enlists these short-term students in the distribution throughout their respective neighborhoods of good seed and of all the information they have acquired. These wide-spread and well-directed exertions are not made in the interest of the individual farmer, but because of the collective interest of the whole community in the intelligent competency of farmers in general. The farm-hand, or the isolated farmer who does his own work, used to be the type of the dull, unprogressive laborer. It is the collective interest of society which is making him a well-informed, active-minded man, who knows enough to breed good stock, to get good seeds and fertilizers appropriate to his soil, to use machinery and tools of the best sort, and to buy and sell to advantage. States, counties, and towns take a hand in this good work by putting agriculture into rural schools as a regular subject of instruction, and meeting the expenditures necessary to make this in-

struction interesting and vivid. The democracy wants to have all the useful careers well filled, and believes that education is desirable in preparation for every human occupation; but it especially feels that education is needed for the advantageous pursuit of that fundamental occupation on which the supplies of human food depend. Here again, collectivism does not trust individualism to produce the results it desires. On the contrary, it says: "The pecuniary interest of the individual farmer has failed to open his mind, stimulate his faculties, and rouse his ambition. The public resources of the community must therefore be used to inform and stimulate him." The urban democracy holds this opinion more strongly than the rural.

Within the few years just past there has been a wide-spread movement to introduce into the public schools, both elementary and secondary, some real industrial training, capable of interesting the children, and of giving them some skill which will be of service in

their future lives. This movement was in part intended to remedy a great evil in the working of the American public school system, namely, the premature leaving of the schools by the great majority of the children; but it also proposed a fundamental educational reform. The proposals of the reformers were nothing but direct returns to the teachings of Pestalozzi in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. His fundamental principle in education was to awaken the will-power of the children by inspiring them with the spiritual motives of love and hope, and with a sense of the good there is for them in school work, and thereby determining the right action of their wills. After much successful and unsuccessful experience, Pestalozzi put this principle into a few cogent words in the letter in which he gives an account of his disastrous experience at Stanz in 1799: "Man readily accepts what is good, and the child readily listens to it; but it is not for you, master and educator, that he wants it, but for himself. . . . It must be a good which is good in itself, and by

the nature of things, and which the child can recognize as good. . . . Whatever he does gladly, whatever gains him credit, whatever tends to accomplish his great hopes, whatever awakens his powers and enables him truly to say: 'I can,' all this he wills." Pestalozzi's method was to combine manual work in the garden and fields in summer and in the house in winter, with lessons in conversation, reading, writing, and committing to memory. He dealt almost exclusively with the poorest and least fortunate of Swiss children, and although his resources were always scanty, he never failed to improve their health, strength, and courage, and to make them capable not only of steady manual work, but of good book work also.

A twentieth-century movement is thus harking back to an eighteenth-century reform in education; but it has to contend with the new difficulties which the rush to cities has created. Pestalozzi dealt chiefly with children who lived in villages or small towns, which had been devastated by war or pestilence, or

both. The hope of his life was to contribute to lifting the peasantry out of their misery by the wise education of the children. The movement toward industrial education to-day is based on a similar hope and expectation. It hopes to uplift the least fortunate classes. It desires to prevent the great majority of American children from leaving school at fourteen as unskilled laborers, having received at school no furtherance toward a useful occupation, and having lost interest in school studies, because they fail to recognize in those studies any good for themselves. The school studies do not accomplish the child's hopes, awaken his powers, or enable him truly to say: "I can."

This evil of stopping education without having acquired any form of skill, and without training toward any specific career, is by no means confined to the elementary schools. Many high-school graduates are in precisely the same situation, and some college graduates. The reason is that the achievement-motive and the career-motive have been neg-

lected by school and college managers and teachers, and the same authorities have neglected manual work and the training of the senses, in favor of book work and memory training. Considering that a long series of great writers on education, from the sixteenth century down, have protested against book work as the chief element in the schooling of children, is it not strange that American schools have been so slow to recognize the value of eye, ear, and hand work in developing mental and moral powers, and so much afraid of utilitarian motives in education? The American belief in freedom and the rights of the individual has found very scanty expression in the conduct of American schools. Even Herbart's doctrine that all school work should interest the child has been slowly and reluctantly accepted by many American teachers, who seem to have believed that mental "discipline" can be imparted only by forcing a child to work on uncongenial, or even impossible tasks. At last the leaders of American education begin to realize that

the end of education is the development of internal motive-powers, such as the desire to excel, the satisfaction that comes with achievement, the imitation of gentleness and nobility, and the love of freedom. In order to efficient collective action, the schools and colleges must apprehend and utilize the effective motives of individualism. The reform of American education in these respects cannot be brought about by individual action, although, as in other centuries, a few leaders may show the way to reform. It is only the public schools that can effectively embody on an adequate scale the new, or rather, the revived, ideals. The reform must, therefore, be an immense collective operation.

A democratic structure of society imposes new duties on public education, and demands of it a great variety of new services. The freedom of individual action which characterizes a democracy results in great inequalities of condition; and the immense material resources of modern democratic society create an endless variety of occupations and grades of

serviceableness, which match an endless variety of capacity in the individual citizens. Democratic wealth and democratic education combine to create among the citizens many different levels of serviceableness, and many different grades of physical refinement and mental cultivation. In a democracy education is the chief factor in determining the social classification, although birth contributes, since birth often determines the early material and spiritual environment. The education of the child, as Rabelais, Montaigne, Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi understood education, is the only way in a democracy of transmitting high position from one generation to another. The transmission of mere money will not accomplish this result; and, moreover, intellectual and artistic tastes, and personal excellences of body and soul, are more surely transmissible than property.

The demands of democratic collectivism being in many respects novel and being also very various, and American schools and colleges having been built, like the English,

on sixteenth-century plans and models, it is obvious that profound modifications of the American educational system are necessary in order to meet these needs. Wise and competent individuals can lead the way, as when a single rich man endows and sets at work a trade school, or a technical institute, or a college or university with a wide range of instruction; but in order to give such good work permanence, the individual benefactor must immediately call to his aid the collective forces of society, to incorporate his institution, and enlist in its support a body of teachers, and in many cases a large community. Then the methods devised and illustrated in one private institution must be adopted and imitated, so far as may be, by the public school systems, and be maintained by the collective intelligence and resources. The idea that useful knowledge cannot be cultural must be dismissed. Every possible concrete illustration must be used throughout elementary and secondary teaching. Every possible application must be made of each abstract principle.

Every means of illustrating the usefulness of a subject must be carefully provided. In order to meet the needs of all classes of citizens and of the community as a whole, certain subjects should be added to all school programmes, as, for example, hygiene, drawing, and music, and to the programmes of rural elementary schools, agriculture, and of urban schools, the nature of municipal business. In the interest of children who must go to work at an early age in order to contribute to the support of their families, part-time continuation schools should be provided at public expense, and for older children trade schools in large variety. The experience of the last hundred years in the manufacturing countries, and the new countries, proves that individualism, that is, the immediate self-interest of a child or its parents, cannot be depended on to secure the transmission from one generation to another of the skill in numerous arts and crafts already acquired by the race as a whole. In order to preserve what has been already won, collectivism must provide for the transmission

not only of the skill of the artisan, but of his right spirit in work.

It does not follow that if all these right provisions were made for the transmission of intelligent skill in the great variety of modern arts and occupations, democratic society would become subdivided into a great number of distinct layers or classes of a fixed and impenetrable sort. The variety of occupations and services would exist, and social groups would exist within the different layers; but also the unusual individual would retain large freedom to move from one layer to another.

Two of the most important educational movements of the last twenty-five years in the United States have had to do with young people who have passed the common-school age, and with their parents and older friends. One of these is the movement for the use of public school-houses as social centres, that is, as places where the youth and grown people of a neighborhood may find, without cost, or at trivial cost, pleasant, interesting, and in-

structive occupations in the evenings. This movement recognized two conspicuous facts, first, that education should not be an affair of childhood only, but a continuous process throughout life; and secondly, that the provision of the means and opportunities for good play and refined entertainment is an important collective function in modern society. The movement has as yet gained but little force in the United States, although its merits have been demonstrated in several important centres of population; and for this reason it urgently demands the attention of all educational reformers and social workers. This is not paternalism, or socialism, or an imitation of the Roman "bread and games" for the populace. It is just intelligent and sympathetic educational collectivism, fighting evil and degradation with good. It is the continuous use of the public school "plant" for educational and uplifting purposes. There is no doubt as to the nature of the activities which should be in constant play in such centres. Individualistic commercialism has

demonstrated what the available means of instruction and enjoyment are; it remains for altruistic collectivism to use them effectively. They are music, instrumental and vocal, lectures with ample illustrations, moving pictures, dramas, plays, tableaux, recitals, dramatic readings, dancing, and indoor games, all these taken part in and enjoyed by young and old together, and guided by skilful and sympathetic teachers employed by the public. Every city and large town in the United States should organize these means of continuous education and recreation just as effectively as it organizes and conducts the elementary and secondary schools, and pay for them as willingly. Intelligent collectivism should provide all these means of enjoyment, freed from vice and from temptation to vice, and should not leave the bulk of the population to get their glimpses of joy and gladness in resorts where the innocent are brought into contact with the vicious, and where vicious indulgences by the patrons heighten the profits of unscrupulous proprietors. It would not be

inconsistent with the general scheme of social centres, or limit their usefulness, if a moderate admission fee, like five cents or ten cents, were charged for the more attractive entertainments, all receipts being applied to equipment and fittings.

The American industrial city has been developed since the factory system came in, labor was minutely divided, and the population crowded into cities. In the country, hunting, shooting, fishing, and many other interesting sports were easily accessible, and therefore common, and a free out-of-door life and the companionship of domestic animals lent themselves to youthful imaginings and aspirations. In the congested cities there have been no equivalents for such wholesome enjoyments. The fact that the early settlers on the coast of the United States and the pioneers across the continent have been in the main Protestants of a sombre sort, accounts in part for the absence of provision at public expense for the pleasures of the people. The Catholic Church has always taken a wise interest in

providing for the working people holidays, processions and pageants out-of-doors, and indoors interesting commemorative observances, occasional stirring revivals of religious emotion, gorgeous spectacles, and great music, and has used profusely for the enjoyment and elevation of the people the resources of architecture, sculpture, and painting. The American Protestant churches, on the other hand, have made only the slightest contributions to popular enjoyment. If three-quarters of the American people are going to live in tall tenements on narrow streets, and to engage in repetitive indoor work from youth to age, it is indispensable that the forces of society at large should be vigorously used to provide these workers with the means of gratifying their irresistible longing for natural joys, and of giving themselves and their children visions of a freer and more expansive life—whether that life be something actually achieved by human beings in the past, or imagined for the future.

The second movement toward continuous

education and the provision of means of public enjoyment, intended to combat the evils accompanying concentration of population, is the movement in favor of play-grounds, open-air parlors, bathing places, boulevards, gardens, and parks. It is only by collective action through the use of public resources that this movement can be carried on. Individual action cannot be depended on either to produce or to maintain it, in spite of the fact that there have been some striking individual gifts toward that public purpose. European collectivism preceded American in taking hold of this great subject; but a few of the American cities, such as Boston, New York, Chicago, and Washington, have made much progress toward the adequate development of public grounds, and many cities have good plans under consideration. All such open spaces have a strong educational effect; but it is the smallest places which, under the name of playgrounds and outdoor parlors, have the most direct educational effects; they require for their best utilization the continuous

employment of teachers or directors. Collectivism must be prepared not only to police all these open grounds, but to provide teachers of outdoor plays and exercises, just as much as it provides teachers in the public schools. Playgrounds without teachers may do positive harm to children, just as public commons, gardens, or parks without policemen may do much harm as well as much good. In general, American working people know much less than their European brethren about the way to utilize for enjoyment and health public grounds, whether large or small.

The right of eminent domain is essential to the procuring of adequate public grounds in a city or town that was originally laid out without them, or with but a scanty provision of them. This right is an extreme case of the necessary domination of collectivism over individualism in modern society, and especially in the recent developments of public education. It has been freely exercised of late by states and municipalities, and by duly authorized commissions, acting for the public, and

empowered not only to take private lands but to maintain for the enjoyment of the public the areas so provided. Another method of holding open areas, large or small, free from taxation for the enjoyment of the public, provides for the co-operation of the collective interest with the individual interest through the incorporation of trustees to hold public reservations free of taxes, the trustees having no right of eminent domain, and acquiring lands only by gift or purchase. The legislative action under which such trustees exist and act is a good example of dominant collectivism co-operating with enlightened and beneficent individualism for the promotion of public health, enjoyment, and elevation of mind—or in other words, for public education.

In considering the relation of collectivism to individualism in education, we have thus far had chiefly in mind the lower grades or regions of education, such as the primary or elementary school, the lower technical schools, and the public secondary schools. It is time to discuss the new relations of the learned and

scientific professions, and the higher walks of business and corporation services to the men and women whose training has been prolonged through professional and polytechnic schools to an age which may be said to vary from twenty-one to twenty-eight years, without taking cognizance of abnormal extensions. The professions of law and medicine used to be callings which gave the individual member of either a remarkable degree of self-reliance and personal independence; and the ministry was a calling whose members were not responsible to the community at large, and were regulated, not by the community as a whole, but by the ecclesiastical organization with which each was affiliated. The members of the priesthood were under the control of a central ecclesiastical authority, but were themselves in a position of authority over all other social ranks. In the United States professional men have been the most independent of all workers, needing no machinery except what they could easily own themselves, and no money capital, except that required for

their support during the long period of education—and the latter was often furnished by parents or friends. Moreover, till within forty years the community as a whole did not regulate access to the professions, or make practitioners conform to regulative laws. It is far otherwise to-day. Collective action has been taken with regard to admission to many of the professions and even to some trades, and the practice of most of the professions and many of the trades must conform to restrictive legislation. This new collective action has all been benevolently intended for the protection of society at large against ignorant practitioners of the professions and trades; but it has unquestionably imposed limits on an individualistic freedom which was formerly highly valued. Incidentally this protective legislation has promoted the spread and improved the quality of professional education and of the training for the trades affected. This improvement of professional education in the United States in consequence of collective pressure co-operating with individual in-

itiative is one of the most important educational advances made in this country during the past forty years. It could not have been accomplished without a large amount of collective action overriding individual rights. Much work of this kind remains to be done, either by government or by independent institutions which have a strong influence on public opinion.

Another cause of the increasing regulation of practice in the professions and many of the trades is the increasing complication of both corporate and municipal business, and the increasing amount of such complicated and difficult business. In all the great industries and throughout all governmental work, national, state, and municipal, the change has come about which is illustrated in the difference between an old-fashioned seventy-four gun ship and a modern battle-ship. The naval machine itself has become immeasurably more complex and more difficult to use, adjust, and direct; so that both in officers and men a higher degree of individual intelligence

and a greater skill are required. Many of the men need to be machinists, and all the officers need to be experts. So in military matters, the shoulder to shoulder, automatic movements being no longer available, individual intelligence, skill, and initiative are needed in the private soldier. All business, whether public or private, needs to be directed by men of long training and general intelligence, who deserve the title of expert. The population as a whole are beginning to perceive this; and the first effect is to increase the number of youth who go through the secondary schools and the technical schools, colleges, and universities. An urgent collective need determines a multitude of individual careers. The change is greatest in business administration; because it used to be supposed that the best way to train a young man for business success was to bring him up from early youth in a private business, without giving him any long schooling or delaying him to procure a comprehensive training of his senses and his reasoning faculties. This highly individualistic, or

rather, non-social conception, is now passing away. The increase of population, the congestion of population in cities, that division of labor which makes each class of laborers absolutely dependent on the fidelity and success of many other classes of laborers, and the new social functions of government have concurred to bring about the adoption on a large scale of better views concerning the importance of thorough schooling to a successful career in business. It is the day of the expert in all sorts of business, in the professions, including teaching, and in every department of governmental administration. Now, the expert is always a highly individualistic product; but he is a product which an intelligent collectivism calls for, regulates, and supports. He is also a capitalist, but a peculiar kind of capitalist, whose sympathies are more likely to be with the hard-working many than with the luxurious few. His trained brains are an individual possession, owned and operated solely by their possessor. They are capital because they are the unspent product of diligent labor;

but they are individualistic capital, like the farm, or the horse and wagon, or the kit of tools which a man has bought with his own or his father's savings and uses himself. Every free nation abounds in this sort of intellectual capitalist, product of individualism and servant of collectivism.

The effects of collectivism on education are thus seen to have been broad and deep; but many of them have been produced by active co-operation between collective and individualistic forces. This co-operative action strikingly illustrates the difference between collectivism and socialism. In education, collectivism pays very little attention to the private property question, or to the question of public ownership of the tools and machinery of production. It is seeking the collective welfare, but finds promotion of that welfare consistent with all existing forms of private property and private industrialism. In promoting the collective interest it finds no difficulty in promoting simultaneously the bodily and mental welfare of the individual. It does

not enter into educational controversies, such as the controversy about utilitarian and cultural studies, or about a one-sided and an every-sided education. It wants results. It demands that experts be trained for its use; but does not undertake to settle the question whether the expert it wants may best be trained by an almost exclusive devotion to the study of Latin, Greek, and mathematics up to twenty-one years of age, or by a more comprehensive scheme of instruction which admits the new sciences, with economics, history, and philosophy, and even permits the youth to choose among numerous available studies those in which he can best succeed. It demands that every kind of education shall produce useful men, filled with the spirit of serviceableness. Collectivism probably believes, with Dr. Arnold, that it is the duty of youth to study those matters in which afterward it is to be their duty to act; but it is not at pains to determine at what time of life this dictum is first to take effect. Moreover, the spirit of collectivism in its dealings with individualism

is altogether constructive, having in it no destructive element, and having no belief that any destruction must precede construction. Indeed, in education—which is a slow process—the attention of reformers is always concentrated upon modification, amelioration, or transformation, and they are quite sure that these changes require for complete fulfilment not days or years, but generations.

The great and manifest increase in administrative capacity of all sorts within the past fifty years, and particularly within the last twenty years, is one of the fruits of the broad extension and wiser direction of public education. In all industries and in all government administration, national, state, and municipal, the unit of operation has been enlarged, the scale of operation has increased, and facilities for rapid work have been provided—hence a greater demand on the administrative and inventive faculties of every manager. The demand made on the thinking powers of the industrial and governmental administrator to-day is much more serious

than it was in the active days of the preceding generation of business men or public servants. All over the United States men not yet forty years old, men not yet twenty years out of the technical schools and the colleges, are exhibiting remarkable capacity for the conduct of large affairs; and young experts appear with trained powers in great variety competent to comprehend and conduct the new processes and vast organizations of recent industrialism and public business. Public education and the cultivation in selected individuals of the power to imagine, invent, and co-ordinate have kept pace with the amazing material development of the nineteenth century. American progress in architecture, music, and the other fine arts, including the drama, illustrates a similar increase of efficiency in imagining, inventing, discriminating, and generalizing. The advance made in industrial and social legislation is another illustration of the increased capacity to observe correctly, accumulate masses of fact, and deduce a wise generalization from such material. Not only

is the number of persons capable of sound mental processes greatly increased, but men and women by the million have learned to understand the processes of the strong thinkers, and to welcome their results with a contagious enthusiasm. The expectation now common that the masses should think is a great tribute to the prompt effectiveness of popular education.

III

IN GOVERNMENT

The novelty of most of the functions of government since 1850 is very remarkable. This newness appears in many ways—first, many of the functions of government, national state, and municipal, are new, and secondly, all these new functions and the few surviving old ones are performed in new ways, that is, with new instruments or machinery, and under novel conditions. This novelty is most striking in municipal government. Many persons are still living who remember Boston when it had no sewers, no public water-supply, no gas, no electricity, no street railways, and no smooth pavements; Albany, when pigs roamed the streets, the only scavengers; Baltimore, when each householder emptied the refuse from his house into the gutter in front

of his door, and the streets were cleaned only by animal scavengers and occasional rains. Seventy years ago Massachusetts, as a state, provided no hospitals for its sick, wounded, or insane; issued no acts of incorporation with limited liability, built no docks, improved no harbors, regulated neither steam nor electric railroads, exercised no control over the issue of shares or bonds of incorporated companies, built no highways, and appointed no commissions to construct systems of sewerage, water-supplies, or parks—in short, performed none of the functions which to-day engage most of the attention of its legislature and its officials. In like manner, many of the most interesting and important functions of the national government at the present day are new within a single generation. Thus, the attempt of the national government to regulate interstate commerce is novel action. The contributions of the government to education through the land-grant colleges and the experiment stations for agriculture and horticulture, and to the progress of science through its

museums, laboratories, and exploring expeditions, the maintenance of national forests and parks, the construction of great public works for irrigation, the improvement of rivers and harbors, the building of the Panama Canal, the administration of remote insular possessions—all these are functions of the national government new within fifty years—some of them within ten years—and yet they engage the greater part of the time and attention of both Congress and the Administration. Moreover, all business is now done in ways of which men in active life before 1850 had no conception. Diffused mechanical power, telegraphs, telephones, stenography, typewriting, and automobiles have made it possible for every director or manager to accomplish many times the amount of work the same sort of person could have done before 1850, and have greatly increased the product of every clerk, salesman, mechanic, craftsman, farm-hand, or laborer. Government now touches many of the most fundamental interests of the individual citizen, affecting favorably or unfavorably his prop-

erty, his earning capacity, his mode of life, and his family concerns.

Meanwhile, the individual citizen has become much less independent than he was before 1850. For example, thirty years ago the people on Mt. Desert Island, Maine, enjoyed an extraordinarily independent life. They got their food from the sea, and from their own farms and gardens on the shore, and their fuel from their own wood-lots. They raised their own sheep, spun their own yarn, and wove their own cloth, except that they had recently acquired the habit of buying cotton warps which they filled with wool. They built their own vessels from the island timber, and were masters of their own carrying trade. They exported salt fish, lumber, and granite, products of their own labor, and imported very little except sugar, tea, and coffee, cotton goods, metal tools, and crockery. A Mt. Desert householder in those days was an extraordinarily independent and self-contained individual, who was touched by collective action only at the annual town meet-

ing, in the proceedings of which he took an active part. He personally owned all the instruments of production he needed; and if he went fishing in a vessel larger than he and his boy could manage, he went on shares in an equitable co-operative fashion. The situation of the Mt. Desert householder to-day is utterly changed. He now imports almost everything he eats, drinks, or wears, and almost all the material with which his shelters are built. He has become dependent on other people and their industries for the necessaries of life—as much so as the inhabitants of a closely built city. He must do just what city people have to do—sell his labor, skill, judgment, or experience, for money with which to buy the necessaries of life. He perhaps has more health, comfort, and enjoyment of life than he used to have; but he is no longer an apt illustration of extreme individualism, and has become subject to collectivism.

With this great change in the degree of individual independence has gone an equally

great change in what used to be designated as "local interests." When provisions and building materials came from within carting distance, or were water-borne from places near by, when many a town had a common for the grazing of cows, and each town had its own slaughter-house, each family its own cesspool—if it did not run its sewage onto the grassy slope below the kitchen sink—and each family or group of families its own pump, the phrase "local interests" had a somewhat definite meaning. Each householder was interested in the highway that brought him his provisions from the next town or from the wharf, in the sidewalk over which his children walked to school and his whole family to church, and in the fire-engine, drawn by man-power, which might possibly arrive at his house in time, if the snow or the mud were not too deep. Not a single one of these local interests survives in anything like its former force, except perhaps the interest in a small portion of some sidewalk; and the sidewalks stretch away in every direction for many miles.

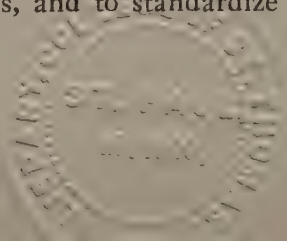
The provisions or the building materials come from hundreds or thousands of miles away. Even country highways must be very differently constructed from those of the old time; for they have to resist many novel kinds of wear and tear. Urban sidewalks are thronged every day with thousands of people who do not live in the city, and contribute little or nothing to its financial support. Every dwelling used to have its own water, light, and air at the discretion of its owner; now all these elemental provisions are prescribed by government, and ought to be much more strictly regulated than they are. The old-fashioned local interests exist no longer. They have broadened out to such an extent that many of them need the care of the national government, and many more the care of the state. Those that remain to the town or city, that is, to the local government, have become so complex, and demand so much knowledge and skill, that they need the constant attention of highly trained men, who deserve the name of expert. It is plain that

collectivism has gained enormously on individualism in every sphere of governmental action. It is plain that the individual citizen's power to determine his own mode of life and that of his family has been greatly abridged since the middle of the last century.

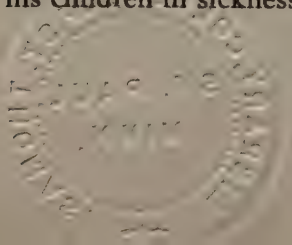
The new functions of the national government touch the industries of the country and the occupations of its citizens at innumerable points, and these points of contact are all the time increasing in number. The heavy taxes levied by the government through the tariff and the internal revenue imposts affect very strongly every consumer in the country. Through the government's regulation of national banks the whole industrial finance of the country is affected. Through its regulation of railroads and of vessels on the oceans, lakes, and rivers, all the conditions of transportation throughout the entire country, for both passengers and freight, have been and are still to be profoundly modified. The markets of the country all watch for government reports on the condition of the crops,

and on the outgoing movement of grains and provisions from the various ports. The agricultural statistics issued by the government have no little to do with the determination of prices. The quality of foods and drugs must conform to government regulations. Shippers of all sorts of goods, not content with the regulation by government of railroad transportation, call on the government to spend hundreds of millions of dollars, raised by general taxation, to secure the competition of costly waterways with the railroads and the improved highways. To the national courts the people look for the means of controlling monopolies, and putting just limits to the power of labor trusts, on the one hand, and associations of employers on the other. Finally, when some pestilence originating in another country threatens to invade the United States, it is the national government which must protect the ports, attack the invader wherever it gets a footing, and in so doing override both state rights and individual rights.

Accompanying the development of collective action through the new functions and new methods of the national government is a corresponding development through the state governments. Most of the present objects and methods of social and industrial activity being new since the Constitution of the United States was adopted, these novelties have perforce been dealt with in the first instance by the states, because the national government possesses only the powers specifically conferred upon it by the written Constitution. Accordingly, it has been the states that have given charters to corporations with limited liability, to towns and cities, and to educational and charitable institutions, and have appointed commissions or commissioners to supervise transportation companies, gas and electric light companies, insurance companies, fraternal and mutual-benefit organizations, and co-operative building and banking societies. It is the states that have undertaken to control the issue of the stocks and bonds of public utility companies, and to standardize



the accounts of such companies. It is the states that license pharmacists, steam engineers, plumbers, and chauffeurs. It is the states that regulate the transportation and sale of live stock, animal products, vegetables, fruit, and milk. Finally, it is the states that procure and publish all vital statistics, and undertake to control the ordinary contagious diseases and the occasional epidemics. It is unnecessary to say that all these new powers of the states are collective powers exercised in the interest of the community as a whole, and that they are all liable at any moment to restrict closely the liberty of the individual, and, in fact, do habitually restrict that liberty in important respects. The Massachusetts, New York, or Pennsylvania farmer, mechanic, or householder of 1825, did he revisit his state in 1900, would be amazed and horrified by the innumerable restrictions which had been imposed by collectivism on his familiar methods of work and his mode of life, on his sales and his purchases, on his dealings with his children in sickness and in health, and on



his use and abuse of domestic animals, drugs, and liquors. Above all, he would be astonished at the increase of taxes, and at the small proportion of the tax-money raised that was applied in 1900 to the objects of public expenditure familiar to him, such as roads and bridges, schools, and the care of paupers. He would think that the freedom he so highly valued had been very much abridged for his successors.

When we compare the work of city governments to-day with that done by city governments a hundred years ago, or even sixty years ago, we perceive at once that the objects and nature of the work have changed, and become both more extensive and more complicated. We see, too, that there is nothing political or legislative about it; that the state legislatures through the exercise of the charter-giving right have reduced city governments to purely administrative functions. A city government nowadays has merely a large business to conduct; but a peculiar business because no profit is to be made in it.

All city administration is collective work, to be well done in the interest of the community —but with the expectation that the individual's interest, though subordinate to that of the community, will at the same time be promoted. The collective force exercised by city governments in these days is really very remarkable, and it exhibits a strong tendency to increase the amount of its pressure and the number of points at which that pressure is applied. The capacity to do well city business is not to be expected of the ordinary citizen. Even small-town business is getting beyond the personal capacity of many of the citizens, because so much expert knowledge of engineering, medicine, and education is needed for the successful administration of a twentieth-century town. In the administration of a large city it is impossible to procure efficiency, unless all its departments are directed by experts. Appointments in reward of political service and the employment of incompetent or unfaithful men have become not only wrong and unjust, but silly and

absurd. By such appointments the public purse is robbed, the public welfare is endangered, and the innumerable interferences of collective action with individual liberty do not yield their proper fruit—the incidental promotion of individual welfare.

Let us next consider the inevitableness of this predominance of collectivism over individualism. The necessity of collective measures and the impotency of individualistic methods are vividly exhibited wherever population concentrates itself in large cities or in closely built towns about mines or factories, just as they did in the walled towns and villages of mediæval Europe. An agricultural population, scattered loosely over considerable areas, or a nomad people wandering in search of pastures for their animals, may continue to exist without much attention to the interest of the group in comparison with the interest of the single family; but when thousands of men, women, and children are crowded into small areas with only a few cubic feet of space for each individual, close

attention to the collective welfare is the only way to make the individual reasonably safe; and this principle applies not only to physical, or bodily, welfare, but also to moral welfare. Concentration of population is therefore responsible in large measure for the rapid gain of collectivism on individualism. The measures taken during the past fifty years to promote and make secure the public health have been forced on government as a consequence of concentration of population. Most of these measures interfere strongly with individual rights and responsibilities, and many of them control the habits and modes of life both of individuals and of families, thus abridging in many ways personal liberty. A public water-supply leads to the construction of sewers, and makes possible the introduction of plumbing into all sorts of dwellings. The plumbing must be connected with the sewers, and immediately many inventions must be made, and much skilled labor applied, in order to prevent the introduction of the contents of the sewers, whether gaseous or

liquid, into houses. There follows the inspection of privately owned plumbing by public officials, and the licensing of plumbers by public authority. The private owner, the tenant, the shopkeeper, and the manufacturing company all submit to public regulation, in order to avoid wide-spread injury to the public health or, in other words, to the health of numerous individuals. The public inspection of provisions from the moment of their production, through the period of distribution, to the moment of consumption, is another collective measure forced upon society by the concentration of population. The factory system with its smoke and foul air, rapid transit with its noise and hurry, and the quick despatch of business with its nervous strain work their injurious effects on the public health wherever population is concentrated, and nothing can offset these effects except collective measures to secure a tolerable supply of light and air, reasonable hours of labor, wholesome food, and the means and opportunities of recreation. It is quite impos-

sible for the individual alone to protect himself and his family from serious bodily injuries; even the richest man cannot make himself or his family safe, unless the collective judgment and energy are put forth to protect him.

Preventive medicine admirably illustrates the intense desirableness of collective action in the interest both of the mass and of the individual, and the new efficacy and beneficence of such action because of the recent progress of applied science. Mankind has learnt that by vigorous collective action it is possible to prevent the ravages of many epidemic diseases, in the presence of which mankind used to be absolutely helpless. For example, the German Empire requires the vaccination of every child three times at different ages. Under this law every recruit for the German army is vaccinated just before he enters the service. Since 1884, when this law went into effect, not a single soldier in the German army has died of small-pox. It was Jenner's discovery, worked out and improved upon by several generations of biologists and

physicians, which made possible this preventive action against small-pox. The law and the practice under it do not admit the right of parents to determine whether their children shall be vaccinated or not. The most civilized communities now adopt regulations concerning the treatment of diphtheria, scarlet-fever, measles, mumps, and whooping-cough among school children. When yellow-fever appears in tropical or sub-tropical cities in Central and South America, the public authority invades the residences of the sufferers with mosquito netting and other appliances just as promptly and as forcibly as the fire department invades a building on fire. In all these cases collective action overrides the individual right; but it does so to protect from threatened injury the mass of the population. If the preventive measures are successful, they confer an immense benefit, industrial, commercial, and social, on the community as a whole, while they do no harm to the individuals who are suffering from disease. The government inspection of passengers arriving

in this country to prevent the importation of diseases is another good illustration of the inevitableness of collective action if the people of the United States are to be effectively protected from infection—and the larger the agency of collective action, the better. A national quarantine is better than that of a state, and a state quarantine is better than that of a city or town. Individualism and competition could not have given mankind the great safeguards against disease which collectivism, informed by preventive medicine, has provided; but collectivism means in this connection law executed by government administration. Without this sort of collective action the concentration of population which has taken place during the last hundred years could not have been safely effected. Its evils would have become intolerable.

The progress of applied science has made possible much other protective action on the part of government in the interest of the mass, action which, though not needed by a sparse agricultural population, became indispensable

to a dense manufacturing population. Thus, the regulation of the preparation and sale of animal products used for food, of milk and other dairy products, and of drugs and alcoholic beverages has been literally forced on the community by its new collective needs. It often happens in these days that some of the most urgent needs of dense populations cannot possibly be supplied by individual action or by "local government," as, for instance, water supplies and sewer systems. Boston and its vicinity afford a good case in point. Within twelve miles of Beacon Hill —Boston's summit—are more than thirty separate towns and cities, each with its own government and its own area. Through this densely populated district of irregular surface three small rivers flowed into tidal inlets and thence into Boston Harbor. The rivers and the inlets received not only the surface drainage, but the sewage of a large population and the wastes of many factories, and poured the foul mixture into the bays and onto the flats of Boston Harbor. When this evil became

intolerable and a remedy was sought, it appeared that Boston within its actual territorial limits and through its local government was quite unable, in spite of its central position and its wealth, to protect itself against the sewage evil on the one hand, or to provide itself with an adequate supply of pure water, on the other. The state was obliged to intervene; and through commissions appointed by the governor it constructed admirable public works which provided for the safe disposition of the sewage of Boston and many other municipalities, and for an adequate water supply for a similar group of towns and cities. Thus state collectivism successfully accomplished what collectivism on the "local" scale could not do for the public welfare. In the same district the organization of a competent police force and an effective fire department, both properly unified, awaits a like intervention of state collectivism.

The development of what is called "big business" within the last twenty years has also made necessary a great deal of collective

action on the part of government, partly directed to preserve or protect individual rights, and partly to control great combinations of capital on the one hand and of labor on the other. The consolidation of railroads and steamship lines, the concentration in the hands of one corporation or trust of mines, means of transportation, and metallurgical works all directed to the production of a single metal in various forms, the combination of many factories in the same industry, once scattered in different parts of the country and managed by different persons or corporations, but now brought together under one management, and the agglomeration of banking capital in few hands, have been natural developments which tend to promote efficiency, economy of effort, and stability of prices; but since they also tend strongly to monopoly, they have compelled the interference in their affairs of government, national, state, and municipal, and of all three departments of governmental action, the legislative, the judicial, and the executive.

"Big business" may be big for any one of several reasons. In the first place, the business may cover a great area, which far transcends both municipal and state boundaries; secondly, it may involve the use of a very large amount of capital, either fixed or quick, or both, and this capital may be practically within the control of a small number of persons; thirdly, the business may be large in the sense that it employs and supports many thousands of workmen with their families; and fourthly, it may be large in any one of the preceding senses and in one other, namely, that it is a source of private profit for a large number of persons, the shareholders, or the members of a mutual or co-operative society. For whichever of these reasons a given business is large, the manner in which it is conducted is something in which the whole community has a direct and keen interest. It is not safe to leave any large business to be conducted in private by individualism uncontrolled; it must be inspected and regulated in the interest of society at large. Collectiv-

ism must protect the interests of society; or, in other words, government, national, state, or municipal—whichever branch has range and power enough—must effectively supervise every business which is large in any of the above senses, under laws wisely framed to secure, so far as legislation can, adequate knowledge of the business on the part of government, proper conditions of labor, and a continuous profit for the capital invested. Such publicity and such competent governmental inspection are as much for the interest of the large businesses themselves as they are for the public interest, particularly in those great industries which produce necessaries of life, raw materials needed in many other industries, or tools or instruments used by millions of workmen. Now that so much of the buying and selling is done in public, it is easy to overestimate the advantages of privacy in any business not founded on a secret process.

The great consolidations of business in the last twenty years have suggested to many minds the idea that they are preparing the

way for government ownership of the means of transportation and of production in factories and mines. It is a natural idea that the interest of the community as a whole would be promoted by carrying on all such industries without making any profit on them; that is, by carrying them on just as the government carries on the post-office, at cost, for the benefit of the entire community; but it is by no means clear that the abolition of corporation ownership for such purposes, and the transfer to the government of all the industries now managed by great corporations, would result in a residual benefit to the people at large. Good corporation management by directors who recognize the fact that they are trustees for their stockholders has many advantages over government management. From the point of view of workmen by the million, it is well to have many different employers—the corporations and the strong partnerships—competing with each other for good service, rather than a single employer, the government. Again, the motive of private profit,

which is powerful in all corporations, is an effective motive toward efficiency; but it is a motive which cannot be kept in play in government service. Furthermore, the very valuable class of men capable of directing large affairs is better off with a multitude of distinct corporations carrying on different industries, and competing with each other for efficient managers, than they would be if there were but one great employer of directing or managing men, the government. Lastly, experience shows that corporation service provides a surer promotion and a longer tenure for capable men than government service does in this country. This is a result, of course, of the intelligent seeking of private profit by a corporation. Under the ordinary conditions of corporation service the proved expert is always retained, unless some disaster befall the business.

Governmental methods in the United States have generally lacked continuity, economy, inventiveness, and efficiency, and in all these respects have been distinctly inferior to

the methods which have prevailed in vigorous and successful corporations. The heads of all the administrative services change frequently in practice; and under the spoils system there has been no continuity in even the humblest levels of the government service. Although the civil service of the United States has been improved by the introduction of a merit system for original appointment to the low grades, it still lacks a merit system of promotion, since all the higher offices are filled by the spoils or patronage method. Even if the patronage method of appointment and promotion should be completely eliminiated from government service, national, state, and municipal, all persons employed by the government, from the highest to the lowest, would still lack the powerful motive of private profit as an inducement to fidelity and zeal. Under a democratic government the frequent shifting of the principal administrators is one of the securities for freedom, and at present there is no sign in any free nation of a change in this fundamental policy. In the United

States, cities and towns, states, and the national government itself, all illustrate this frequent change of the directing heads. So long as this is the case, there will be a great field in every free country for the corporate management of large industries.

Until all civil servants are appointed and promoted on the merit system, there is of course no possibility of government managing successfully any industry whatever, unless it be a complete monopoly like the post-office, and even then its management will fall far below the standard of efficiency in many private corporations. On the whole it seems likely that the functions of a democratic government will remain for many years to come essentially what they have been, though with many improvements in detail, first, legislative—making the laws; then, judicial—interpreting and enforcing the laws; and thirdly, administrative—executing the laws, best through long-tenure agents selected and promoted for merit. The corporations, great and small, will continue to render efficient

service to the community; but they will be regulated and controlled by public statutes, courts, and government administration acting under law. Both corporation action and government action are collective in high degree. They have both gained power rapidly and largely since 1850, and will make further gains in the interest of the whole people; but they will not abolish personal liberty and individual rights, though they will restrict and modify them.

The conflict between individualism and collectivism is well illustrated by the use of the United States post-office as a means of preventing the diffusion of vicious knowledge and vicious practices through the community. The increase of postal facilities in both city and country, and the invention of type-writing and of the card catalogue, having brought about a great increase of advertising through the post-office, individuals who proposed to make a livelihood, or a fortune, out of lotteries, obscene books and pictures, quack medicines, gambling houses, or brothels, were quick to

seize upon this easy and private method of advertising. They procured, sometimes by fair means and sometimes by foul, the lists of addresses which universities, colleges, academies, correspondence schools, insurance companies, publishers, bankers, brokers, jobbers, and all sorts of retail stores prepare and keep up to date. Many such lists can be bought—as, for instance, the catalogues of schools and colleges, "Who's Who," the social blue-books and city directories, and the lists of learned and scientific societies—and many others can be procured by bribery. These address lists serve good purposes, commercial, educational, and social, but all of them can be used for the bad purposes of vicious or unscrupulous individuals. The United States post-office, a collective force, is the indispensable agent for this kind of advertising. When furnished with trustworthy information, the Post-office Department will prevent the vicious use of the mails, and in clear cases will furnish evidence to public or private prosecutors in courts. This is an instance of collective force

used against individual malefactors who avail themselves of the means which government supplies of communicating directly and privately with any number of scattered individuals. Through the post-office the lottery business has been broken up in the United States, and various other pernicious businesses have been effectively restricted, if not suppressed. Such action on the part of the post-office is, however, in violation of each individual's right to have any matter he may put into the mails, properly addressed and stamped, delivered without delay or scrutiny. The urgent collective need of protecting the mass from corruption overrides in the public interest a precious individual right.

Although the subject of this lecture is collective action in government, it is important to observe, in passing, that not all collective action is governmental. In the two earlier lectures we have discussed collectivism in industry and in education, and have found in both these fields that there is a great deal of collective action which proceeds from volun-

tary associations or societies, not possessing any governmental power. To be sure, in trades-unions and employers' associations, the collective action is that of a class, and not of the whole community; and in education the collective action of endowed private institutions is much less extensive than that of government, though highly beneficial. It remains to notice the collective action of voluntary associations organized to promote reforms and sanitary, social, or æsthetic improvements. Such associations can of themselves exert no force or compelling power. They educate public opinion, and then through the action of an informed public opinion procure the enactment of new laws, behind which will stand the courts and the executive. In other words, they induce governmental action, and prepare the way for it by appealing to the intelligence and moral sense of the community. Even during the initial educational stage they often interfere with what have been considered the rights of individuals. Thus, every society for the prevention of cruelty to ani-

mals will, if it can, interfere with the right of an individual owner to maltreat, abuse, or neglect his horse, dog, or cat; and every society for the prevention of cruelty to children will, if need be, interfere to prevent the abuse or neglect of children by vicious or incompetent parents—in spite of any traditional theories about owners' rights over animals or parental rights over offspring.

An excellent illustration of the collective force exercised by voluntary associations and even by occasional gatherings of influential people is to be found in the recent movement in favor of the conservation of national resources. Conservation relates to minerals—including the constituents of the soil—water powers, forests, lands either too wet or too dry, and the public health. Until very recently the most intelligent and philanthropic people thought that the public interest was best promoted by the immediate exploitation of these natural resources to any extent and by any available means. The frugal use of the great natural resources of the country was

not even thought of. Immediate development by any individuals or corporations possessing the necessary enterprise and the necessary money was the thing desired and advocated. Suddenly, far-seeing men began to think, first, that most of these natural resources were exhaustible, and with the present methods of exploitation would be exhausted within a measurable time, and secondly, that it was undesirable that great, fresh resources should fall into the hands of a few individuals or corporations, to be by them and their chosen successors controlled for all time. The voluntary associations and the occasional gatherings called to consider conservation measures have already come to the conclusion that exploitation, no matter how, is not for the interest of the nation at large, either now or in the future; and inasmuch as the great natural resources are not limited by state boundary lines, they see clearly that only the national government can protect the rights of the whole people against private monopoly, preserve for future generations control over mines, water

powers, and forests, irrigate the dry lands, drain the swamps, and so promote the health, wealth, and general well-being of future generations. As yet, the conservation associations and congresses use only the powers of persuasion and argument; but they also persistently advocate new legislation which would seriously restrict the powers which private persons and private corporations have heretofore been able to procure and exercise on the public domain. This is clearly a case in which collective action, to be effective, must be national action. It is also a popular movement in which far-sighted altruism dominates selfish and near-sighted individualism, and the present generation consents to take account of the probable needs and wishes of future generations.

Collectivism has in recent years used freely for its own public purposes two ancient rights of government which have always been exercised against private property—the right to tax, and the right of eminent domain. The right to tax proceeds upon the idea of contri-

bution, the total contribution being apportioned among all property owners by some rule of universal application; but the right of eminent domain has no such sanction in universality and theoretical equity among citizens; for the state may take one individual's property for public uses without simultaneously taking the property of any other individual. The justification of such taking is wholly in the public use. The power to tax is nowadays used, however, for many other purposes besides raising revenue by fairly distributed contributions. It is used to start new industries, to exclude from the national territory the manufactured products of countries where labor is cheaper than in our own, to compel owners of unoccupied land either to improve it or to sell it, to force owners of forests to destroy them periodically in order to avoid ruinous taxation, and to obtain for the state a large share of all increases of value in land or buildings which may be supposed to be due to a new concentration of population or to new social customs. The power to tax is

also used to compel the cutting up of large landed estates at the death of the proprietor. The state may also levy largely on estates in process of transmission to heirs, on the ground that society as a whole secures the right of inheritance and may therefore rightfully take for public use a portion of every inherited estate, a portion large in proportion to the magnitude of the estate. The right to tax and the right of eminent domain are both collective rights, which when broadly used develop collectivism at the expense of individualism. It is interesting to observe that the free use of the right to tax has a strong tendency to make necessary the exercise of the right of eminent domain. Thus, when in outlying parts of a city the owners of large open grounds are compelled by heavy taxation to cut up their holdings and cover them with dwellings or shops, an urgent necessity arises of somehow creating other open grounds consecrated to public uses, and the right of eminent domain has to be employed to procure such grounds. So when in the exercise

of individual rights the whole surface of a densely peopled ward of a great city has been covered with buildings, the right of eminent domain has to be exercised by the city to obtain suitable school yards and playgrounds for the children. The creation of the parks, gardens, playgrounds, and parkways urgently needed by most of the American cities has been made possible by the free exercise of the right of eminent domain, and the need of these open spaces became urgent because the use made of the power to tax made it the interest of the individual contributors to the government revenue to occupy with buildings as much as possible of the land they owned. In the same way, the tax laws of the several states being adverse to the holding of forests as private possessions, the interest of the country at large requires the creation of forest reservations, to be held by the national government, the state governments, or endowed institutions which are exempt from taxation.

It remains to consider two phenomena in the sphere of government which are highly collec-

tive in tendency. The first is the enormous bulk of new legislation proposed and the great number of laws actually enacted every year in the United States. The second is the demand for uniform legislation in the several States of the Union. The multitude of new enactments is an inevitable consequence of the numerous and far-reaching changes which have occurred during the past hundred years in industries, social organization, and habits of life. The rate of change in all these respects has been vastly more rapid since 1810 than ever before in the history of civilization. Indeed, it is not exaggeration to say that nothing is now done in the civilized world as it was done a hundred years ago, and that every sort of social organization, including family, school, church, courts of justice, and governing agencies, has been profoundly altered. The very oldest industries, such as spinning, weaving, and farming, have been revolutionized, and innumerable new industries have been introduced. Not only has educational discipline been changed, but the

objects in view at school, college, university, and technical school are not the same as they were a hundred years ago. In all human occupations there is now a strong expectation of improvement and progress, and a welcome is given to new ideas and new hopes. How to make progress in innumerable industrial and social directions has become an object of systematic study with appreciable numbers of men and women. It would be very surprising if under such conditions there had not been an eager demand for many new laws. The law of common carriers, which had been worked out during centuries for stage-coaches and turnpikes, required many modifications before it was well adapted for railroads; and the modifying process is not yet completed. We shall not find it surprising that many laws have had to be passed concerning the powers and privileges of corporations, if we consider that the corporation with limited liability has only been in existence about sixty years, and that it has become the most tremendous industrial agency of modern times. The courts

have had the same experience as the legislatures, as the voluminous reports of the United States courts and the various state courts abundantly testify. Much of the new legislation has been crude, because hasty; but the sound objection lies, not against new legislation, but against hasty legislation. The attention of reformers ought to be given to the improvement of the legislating bodies, by reducing the number of legislators, lengthening their service, and shortening the ballots on which they are chosen; so that laws may be better considered before they are enacted. That there should be many new laws so long as society is in such a state of flux as it has been for the last seventy years is altogether desirable. They give evidence that the new ideas and experiences of mankind and the new social and industrial processes are gradually getting settled into legal expressions of general consent.

The second phenomenon is the desire for uniform laws in the several states of the Union. This movement is an outcome of the desire

to regulate monopolies and to promote reasonable competition. Under the fixed Constitution of the United States labor problems must be solved by legislation in the several states. Since all the important questions concerning labor, corporations, and interstate transportation are new since the Constitution of the United States was written, they have had to be dealt with so far as possible by the several states. Under the differing laws of different states, the conditions of production in many industries were not the same in one state as in another, or in others. Fair competition in an industry carried on in several states was therefore embarrassed. A state which desired to adopt some humane legislation which would increase the cost of production in one of its industries had to consider whether that industry could endure such legislation, when the same industry in other states would not be so burdened. The progress of humane legislation has been retarded to a serious degree by this difficulty. The competition between the states for the pecu-

niary advantage to be reaped from granting charters or acts of incorporation has distinctly injured American legislation concerning corporations. The advent of the automobile brought into public view one of the inconveniences of independent action by different states on the same subject. Some states recognize the licenses granted by other states, but some do not—hence, grave inconveniences for the owners of a vehicle which in some regions can easily pass three or four state boundaries in a day. The demand for uniform legislation means an effort to get round the rigidity of the Constitution of the United States, which was written a hundred and twenty years ago, and the rigidity of many of the state constitutions, some of which go into such details that progressive legislation is made difficult. Sound collective action against monopoly and in favor of rational competition will be almost impossible through state legislation, unless the doctrine of uniform state legislation comes to prevail. It is only through a well-informed public opin-

ion, vigorously expressed, all over the country, that such a uniformity can be attained. If attained, it will be a great triumph of national public opinion over individualistic state opinion.

We have now demonstrated the rapid development of collectivism at the expense of individualism in three great departments of personal and social activity—industries, education, and government. The development has been constructive, not destructive, inevitable in consequence of other profound social and industrial changes, beneficial in the present, and hopeful for the future. It tends neither to anarchy nor to despotism. Its theory is accurately stated in such accepted sayings as these: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"; "As ye would that men should do to you do ye also to them likewise"; "Nothing human is foreign to me"; "We do hold ourselves straightly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole by every one, and so mutually"; "Each for all, and all for each." Its object is that stated in the

preamble of the Federal Constitution—"To promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

INDEX

Administrative capacity, increase of, 83–4.
Agricultural instruction, 56–9.
American colleges, wider instruction in, 44–5.
Associations, multiplication of, 23–5, 116–8.
Associations of employers, rise of, 15.

"Big business," defined, 108; government supervision of, 109; tends to monopoly, 106–8.
Boston, sewer system of, 105–6; water-supply of, 105–6.
Building laws in cities, 30–1.
Business facilities, new, 88.

Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 33.
Careers based on capacities, 45–6.
Centralization of government promotes collectivism, 9.
City government a business, 97.
Civilization must override barbarism, 54.
Collective action inevitable, 99.
Collectivism constructive, 129; gains of, 22–3; influences promoting, 7–8; in housing, 27; its effects on education, 81–3; not socialism, 2–7; rise of, 7; through trade agreements, 21; *vs.* individualism, 1.
Collectivist doctrines, some, 5, 129.
Comenius, things and words, 51–2.
Competition, bad kinds of, 18; the desirable, 19; the efforts to suppress, 17; value of, 16–8.

Concentration of population promotes collectivism, 8, 99–100.
Concrete illustration, 66.
Conservation a collective movement, 118–20.
Contagion and individualism, 103.
Cornell's, Ezra, conception of a university, 44.
Corporation ownership, advantages of, 110–1.
Corporations, collective forces, 15, 125; diffuse property, 15.
Craftsmanship in education, 67.

Dangers of indiscriminate admission of aliens, 53.

Education a collective interest, 47–8; individualistic, 43–7, 50–1; main objects of, 50; should be lifelong, 69.
Educational reform must be collective, 64.
Educational system should be modified, 65–6.
Educational test for suffrage, 53.
Eminent domain, applied in education, 74–5; in government, 120–3.
Employers' associations indispensable, 15; resist union monopolies, 20; restrict employer's liberty, 20–1.
English social betterment, 36.
English tenants' societies, methods of, 27–30.
Expectation of progress, 125.
Expert, the day of the, 78–80, 92.

Factory system gregarious, 40–1.
Federal functions, new, 87–8, 93–4.
Franklin, an individualist, 6.

General Education Board, 57.
Government ownership, doubtful benefit of, 109–11; work, novel, 86–8.
Government touches the individual citizen, 88.
Governmental changes in United States, 112–3; methods, defects of, 111.

Herbart's doctrine of interest, 63.
Housing associations, 25; influence of, 24–5.

Individual less independent, 89–90.
Individual responsibility, relief from, 37.
Individualism, early American, 5–6; in education, 43–7, 50–1; *vs.* collectivism, 1.
Industrial betterment, 25.
Industrial education, hope of, 62.
Industrial individualism, revival of, 39–41; individualists, 41.
Industrial training in public schools, 59.

Jefferson, an individualist, 6; educational ideal of, 44.

Labor legislation, extent of, 36; justification of, 37; rise of in England, 34.
Large employers, changes in status of, 41–2.
Learning by doing, 49.
Liberties, sacrificed to unionism, 12–4.
Life-career motive in education, 45; Locke's view of, 52.
"Local government" inadequate, 105–6.
Local interests, expansion of, 91.

Merit system of appointment indispensable, 113.
Monopoly desired by unions, 17–8.

Monopolies sought by unions, 14.
Montaigne's essentials in education, 49–50; ideal education, 44.
Motives in education, 62–4.
Mt. Desert householders, past conditions, 89; present conditions, 90.
Municipal functions, new, 86–7; 97–9.

New enactments, multitude of, 124–8.

Paine, Thomas, an individualist, 6.
Pestalozzi, fundamental principle of, 60; his method in education, 61.
Playground teachers indispensable, 74.
Preventive medicine and collectivism, 102.
Professions, improvement of, 77; independence of, 76; new restrictions of, 77.
Public health preserved by collective means, 101–6.
Public opinion, the greatest collective force, 31–2, 38, 128.
Public recreation indispensable, 71–2; open-air facilities for, 73.
Public reservations, 75.
Public water-supplies, collective provisions, 100–1.
Publicity in business, secured by government, 109; the remedy for abuses, 32.

Quarantines, collective provisions, 104.

Roman Catholic church, 71–2.

Schoolhouses as social centres, 68–71.
Secondary schools, collectivist agencies, 56.

Secrecy a mischief in industries, finance, and legislation, 32.
Social betterment, English, 36.
Social centres in schoolhouses, 68–71.
Socialism, characteristic doctrines of, 2; effects of such doctrines, 3–5.
"Sports," human, development of, 46–7.
State functions, new, 95–7.
State universities, 54–5.

Taxation, new uses of, 121–2; effects of, 123.
Tenants' societies, English, 27–30.
Tendencies, two opposite social, 1.
Trades-union doctrines, 12; obligations, 12–3.
Trades-unionism, rise of, in England, 10–1; in the United States, 11–2; seeks monopoly, 14.
Transmission of education, 65.
Trusts, general aim of, 16; monopolistic combinations, 16.

Uniform state legislation demanded, 124–8; desirable but difficult, 127–8.
Union rules impair liberty, 13.
Universal education, effects of, 84–5.
United States postoffice a collective force, 115; protective use of, 116; vicious use of, 114–5.
Utilitarianism in education, 49, 66.

Variety in education indispensable in a democracy, 65–8.
Voluntary associations wield collective forces, 117–8.

Workmen's Compensation Acts, 34–6.

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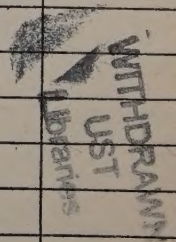

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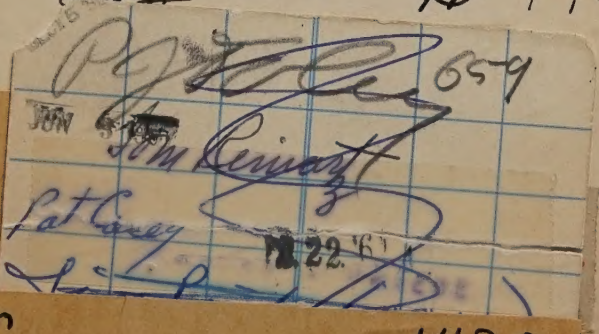

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